

Message Text

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SUBJECT: JAVITS' TRIP REPORT

1. FOLLOWING ARE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS SECTIONS FROM REPORT SUBMITTED TO SENATE BY SENATOR JAVITS FOLLOWING HIS RECENT TRIP TO GREECE AND TURKEY. COMPLETE REPORT BEING POUCHED.

TURKEY:

1. ARMS EMBARGO: IN ENACTING THE ARMS EMBARGO THE CONGRESS INTENDED TO PENALIZE NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE CONDITIONS RESTRICTING USE OF WEAPONS SUPPLIED BY THE UNITED STATES, RESTRICTIONS WHICH ARE INCORPORATED IN U.S. LAW AND WHICH ARE SPELLED OUT MORE SPECIFICALLY IN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS SIGNED BY RECIPIENT NATIONS. IN ADDITION, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO VOTED FOR SEC. 620(X)

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BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD SERVE AS AN EFFECTIVE LEVER TO INDUCE TURKEY TO NEGOTIATE AN EQUITABLE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. IT HAS NOT WORKED OUT THIS WAY, NOR IS IT NOW CLEAR WHETHER THE ARMS EMBARGO WILL WORK OUT THAT WAY. INDEED IT IS ASSERTED IN TURKEY THAT THE RESULT WILL BE EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE, AND THAT CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO WILL TEND TO MOVE TURKEY FURTHER AWAY FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE SO LONG AS THE EMBARGO

PERSISTS. THIS VIEW IS SUPPORTED BY SECRETARY VANCE WHO HAS

ARGUED VERY RECENTLY BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THAT THE EMBARGO HAS NOT REALLY ACHIEVED ITS PURPOSE--THAT OF UNDERSCORING TO TURKEY AND THE WORLD THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES REGARDS THE BREACH OF THE AGREEMENTS RESTRICTING THE USE OF U.S. SUPPLIED WEAPONS TO SELF-DEFENSE WITHIN TURKEY. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT NEITHER THESIS CAN YET BE CONSIDERED PROVEN.

I THEREFORE HAVE URGED THAT FULL HEARINGS BE UNDERTAKEN ON THE GREEK-TURKISH ISSUE SO THAT AN AIRING OF THE RESPECTIVE POINTS OF VIEW MAY ENABLE US AND THE PARTIES TO COME CLOSER TO SOME FORM OF AGREEMENT. ALSO, I HAVE CONSIDERABLE FEELING THAT A CONTINUED RELATIONSHIP OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND PREMIER CARAMANLIS SHOULD BE CONTINUED WITHIN AN ATMOSPHERE WHICH MAKES IT POSSIBLE. I FEEL THAT TO CHANGE THAT SITUATION WOULD RESULT IN BRINGING AN END TO THIS DIALOGUE. THEREFORE, TO HAVE FULL HEARINGS WILL GIVE THE DISCUSSIONS MORE OF AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE THAN TO COME AT THIS TIME TO SOME FIRM CONCLUSION ABOUT THE ARMS EMBARGO, AT LEAST THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT IS NOW APPLIED, TO TURKEY.

PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS ARGUED THAT TURKEY IS DESERVING OF MORE SYMPATHETIC TREATMENT, NOT ONLY AS A NATO ALLY, BUT UNCLASSIFIED

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ALSO ON ITS RECORD AS A DEVELOPING NATION WHICH HAS ADHERED CONSISTENTLY TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND TO FREE ELECTIONS. THERE IS FORCE TO MR. ECEVIT'S CONTENTION.

2. TURKEY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: DESPITE TURKEY'S CURRENT ACUTE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, ANALYSTS GENERALLY BELIEVE THAT TURKEY'S LONG TERM ECONOMIC PROSPECTS ARE GOOD IF THE PROPER DEVELOPMENT POLICIES ARE ADOPTED AND IMPLEMENTED. THE POLITICAL STALEMATE OF RECENT YEARS UNDOUBTEDLY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO A CERTAIN RIGIDITY AND SOME QUESTIONABLE BIASES IN TURKISH ECONOMIC POLICY. LIKE MANY DEVELOPING NATIONS, TURKEY HAS HAD A PUBLIC SECTOR BIAS IN ITS INVESTMENT POLICIES AND DECISIONS. MOREOVER, THERE IS A LONG HISTORY OF SUSPICION AND DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT TOWARD FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND BUSINESS OPERATIONS IN TURKEY. THESE BIASES, COMBINED WITH AN OUTDATED TILT TOWARD THE GOAL OF ECONOMIC AUTARCHY, HAVE CONTRIBUTED MATERIALLY TO TURKEY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. I BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES, WORKING WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, SHOULD USE ITS GOOD OFFICES TOWARD PERSUADING TURKEY TO MOVE TOWARD MORE

FLEXIBLE AND OPENMINDED APPROACHES PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS REGULATING FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT. PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO MODERNIZE TURKEY'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AND TO REEXAMINE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT CAN BE ATTRACTED AND CAN OPERATE IN TURKEY. I RECOMMEND THAT THE UNITED STATES COOPERATE WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES. THE PRIVATE SECTOR, INCLUDING FOREIGN INVESTMENT CAN, IN MY JUDGMENT, MAKE A VITAL AND DESPERATELY NEEDED CONTRIBUTION TO TURKEY'S EXPORT EARNINGS.

GREECE:

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1. U.S.-GREEK RELATIONS: CLOSE RELATIONS WITH GREECE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES AND NATO. THE LEADERSHIP OF GREECE BY PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, AND THE COURSE HE HAS SET FOR HIS COUNTRY, ARE VERY MUCH IN THE LONG TERM INTEREST OF FREEDOM, PEACE AND WELL BEING FOR GREECE AND THEREFORE OF GREAT INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES AND DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. IT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO LEND ITS SUPPORT TO THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT AND TO PROVIDE ALL FEASIBLE AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE CARAMANLIS OBJECTIVES OF TYING GREECE FIRMLY TO THE WEST THROUGH MEMBERSHIP IN THE EEC AND NATO. THESE INSTITUTIONS WILL PROVIDE A VERY IMPORTANT CONTINUING FRAMEWORK FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF LASTING STABILITY AND PROSPERITY IN GREECE, AND THE AVOIDANCE OF INSTABILITY AND DISAFFECTION WHICH COULD CAUSE SERIOUS STRATEGIC COMPLICATIONS FOR THE WEST. THE FACT THAT GREECE HAS LAND BORDERS WITH THREE COMMUNIST NATIONS - ALBANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND BULGARIA - AND MEMORIES OF THE BITTER CIVIL WAR PROVOKED BY GREEK COMMUNISTS AFTER WORLD WAR II, AFFORD NO GROUNDS FOR COMPLACENCY, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE PRESENT OPPOSITION IN GREECE.

2. GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS: GRAVE PROBLEMS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY HAVE A VERY LONG HISTORY AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE A MAJOR COMPLICATING FACTOR FOR U.S. POLICY. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT ABDICATE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO SEEK AMELIORATION OF GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTES, IN CYPRUS OR THE AEGEAN OR THEIR RESPECTIVE BORDERS. THE U.S. CANNOT BE THE ARBITER OF THOSE DISPUTES, HOWEVER, AND IT MUST NOT ALLOW ITS POLICIES AND INTERESTS TO BECOME HOSTAGE TO PARTICULAR NEGOTIATIONS AT ANY ONE TIME. RATHER, THE UNITED STATES MUST SEEK TO STRIKE AN ENLIGHTENED BALANCE AMONG INTEREST IN CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY.

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THE PRESENCE OF A VERY HIGH QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP IN GREECE,
IN THE PERSON OF PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, AND IN TURKEY
IN THE PERSON OF PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT, GIVES THE U.S. THE
OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE AND FACILITATE JUST SUCH AN ENLIGHT-
ENED AND BALANCED POLICY. VANCE

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